



THE REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA



PAUL N. MILUKOFF
LEADER OF THE
RUSSIAN LIBERALS.

By HERMAN BERNSTEIN.

THE medieval reign of Nicholas II. has come to a sudden end. The autocrat of Russia was forced to abdicate by the Liberals and the Radicals, by the representatives of the people, of the masses as well as of the nobility.

The reins of the Government were taken from the hands that were steeped in blood. The noblest, most gifted and most trustworthy representatives of the people are now directing the destiny of the new Russia.

The Middle Ages have suddenly made way for the new, advanced, progressive, liberal tendencies in Russia. As by magic long suffering Russia has awakened.

Nine years ago I asked Prof. Paul Milukoff in St. Petersburg the following question:

"Do you regard fresh outbreaks in Russia as improbable in the near future?"

The famous historian and leader of the Constitutional Democratic party in the Duma answered:

"With this Government it is impossible to say whether violent outbreaks will occur soon or not. This Government always misses its opportunities. It is never in time. It makes half concessions when it is too late. But whatever political course the events may take, Russia will henceforth remain democratic in its social makeup. The old Government is now undergoing a process of dissolution."

At about the same time I asked the same question in the course of an interview with the late Premier Sergius Witte. He replied:

"Russia is great and powerful, notwithstanding her weaknesses, and I think she will become greater than she ever was. A country that is recovering from such a horrible, disgraceful, stupid, criminal war as the Russo-Japanese war is a country with a future. There will be outbreaks from time to time. At times the waves of discontent will rise mountain high and then will sink again. For some time to come there will be a period of rising and falling of the waves. But that indicates life. A smooth surface would be a sign of death. I cannot say definitely when the new bright era will dawn in Russia. Nor can I say that it will be during my lifetime. Perhaps in fifteen years. Perhaps in five years. Perhaps even still sooner."

During the past nine years the Russian Government, having curbed the liberal and revolutionary forces, kept working energetically. The military courts caused the executions of people for crimes which in civilized countries are punishable by imprisonment for a month or even less, the hangmen were busy for many years throughout the empire, the prisons were overcrowded, tens of thousands of innocent people were exiled without trial.

The outbreak of the war with Germany caught Russia unprepared, even though some of the officials kept boasting both in the Duma and in the press that Russia was fully prepared.

Then a series of colossal reverses opened the eyes of the people to the incompetency, the indifference and corruption in the highest official spheres.

The liberal and radical elements in Russia, ever ready before the outbreak of the war to embarrass the Government, became unified during the war and made every sacrifice to save Russia, to lead her to victory.

A number of high Russian officials betrayed Russia in the hour of her gravest crisis. Thus Gen. Sukhomlinov, former Secretary of War, kept assuring the Duma that Russia was well prepared for the war in every way, that Russia had plenty of munitions, that the railways were in splendid working condition. These statements he made at a time when the Russian military forces were completely disorganized and demoralized, when the General Staff could not get sufficient cars to carry provisions to the army and had no cars in which to send back the Russian wounded from the battlefields. But merchants could secure any number of cars for speculative manipulation if they bribed the Russian officials. Gen. Sukhomlinov was thrown into prison, into the same fortress of St. Peter and St. Paul where so many



MICHAEL
VLADIMIROVITCH,
RODZIANKO,
PRESIDENT
OF THE
RUSSIAN
DUMA.

THE PALACE at
PETROGRAD, WHERE
THE DUMA MEETS.



EMPEROR
NICHOLAS
II,
of
RUSSIA.



FORMER PREMIER STUERMER
WHO WAS ACCUSED BY PRESIDENT
RODZIANKO OF BEING A TRAITOR
and FORCED INTO RETIREMENT.

realized that he had murdered, that he could not come with such a fabrication before the world. But the Czar wanted the Jews discredited. So the Beilis trial was staged, with all its medieval settings, in the ancient city of Kiev.

Now Minister of Justice Scheglovitov was removed and Deputy Kerenky took his place. Kerenky is the leader of the labor element in the Duma. An eloquent orator, a farist of distinction, a fearless champion of the oppressed and the persecuted, Kerenky exposed in the Duma the demoralization of the Russian bureaucracy and the conspiracy against the Jews of Russia who had been accused of wholesale espionage and treason.

Prince G. Lvoff, the new Prime Minister, is one of the most beloved men in Russia. A member of the nobility, Prince Lvoff has been identified for many years with liberal movements for reforms.

In 1906, a short time before the general strike, Prince G. Lvoff presented to the Czar a declaration prepared by a group of the most liberal leaders of the nobility, Prince S. Trubetskoy was the spokesman on that occasion.

The address read in part as follows: "Your Imperial Majesty! In the hour of the gravest national crisis and the greatest danger to Russia, we, your throne, we turn to you, setting aside all differences which may divide us, actuated solely by a passionate love for our fatherland."

"Sire! By the criminal negligence and abuse on the part of your advisers Russia was drawn into a ruinous war. Our army was powerless to overcome the enemy, our fleet is destroyed, and what is even worse, an internal unrest is spreading throughout Russia."

"Having failed, together with the entire people, in shortening of the despicable and ruinous regime, you have outlined a series of measures directed toward the reconstruction of Russia. But these outlines have been distorted and have not been carried out properly. The people are being persecuted, there is no freedom of speech and no change of lawlessness are multiplying and growing."

"Sire! Before it is too late, in order to save Russia, in order to establish peace within the empire, we suggest that you call together the representatives of the people, elected by the people. Let them solve together with you the vital problem of the empire, the questions of war and peace; let them decide whether to decline the terms of peace and should they decide to decline such terms of peace, let them turn this into a national war. Let them represent all the nationalities in Russia, no longer a divided empire, no longer burdened by internal struggles, but recuperated, powerful and unified in her regeneration. Let them together with you establish the rejuvenated order of things in Russia."

"Sire! In your hands are the honor and the power of Russia, her internal peace. In your hands is your throne, inherited from your ancestors. Do not delay! In the terrible hour of this national crisis your responsibility before God and Russia is great."

The Czar promised once more to respond to the will of the people. He assured the representatives of the empire that all his promises would be fulfilled.

But the Russian Emperor failed to keep his promises. He revoked every reform that was introduced during the days when the revolution assumed dangerous proportions. In 1906, several years ago, I summed up the life of the Czar in the form of an open letter, a part of which may be of interest at this time:

"When you ascended the throne of the Russian Empire the hopes of the better elements of the Russian people ran high. The people were hoping for a more human regime. They were hoping for reforms. They were hoping for a sympathetic bond between the

stas. I have repeatedly pointed out the genius of the Russian people have translated some of the works of the Russian master minds, have interpreted the yearnings of the Russian people as expressed through the real representatives of Russia, and I have also exposed the evil genius and the dark forces that were undermining the great nation which now has a wonderful future before it. And I am as proud of my praise of the one Russia, the Russia of the people, as I am of my exposure of the misrepresentation, un-Russian Russia.

During the past ten years Russia has been the Mont Blanc of progressive aspirations and revolution. That accounts for the strange inconsistencies in Russian life, such as Tolstoy ideals side by side with massacres and medieval ritual murder trials.

In the past the reactionaries failed to avail themselves of the lessons of the past. Graft, corruption, incompetency, intrigues against the will of the people, found full sway in official spheres. Instead of waging war against the enemy of Russia, the Russian Government waged war against the Jews and other elements of the Russian population.

The Liberals saved the Russian Government from a revolution earlier in

the war, in the hope that a united Russia would be victorious, and that reforms would then be introduced leading to emancipation. The Liberals and the Revolutionists saved the Government from a general strike which was threatened as a protest against the incompetency and corruption of the Government about a year ago.

The reactionary Russian Government was so short sighted that it failed

to appreciate this spirit on the part of the real patriots of Russia. Instead of turning toward the road of reform, the Russian Government resolved to throttle the will of the people in the Duma, to crush the liberal tendencies which swept the Russian Empire, and to impose measures were met by extreme measures on the part of the people.

The awakening and emancipation of

Russia means also the emancipation of the Jewish people in Russia.

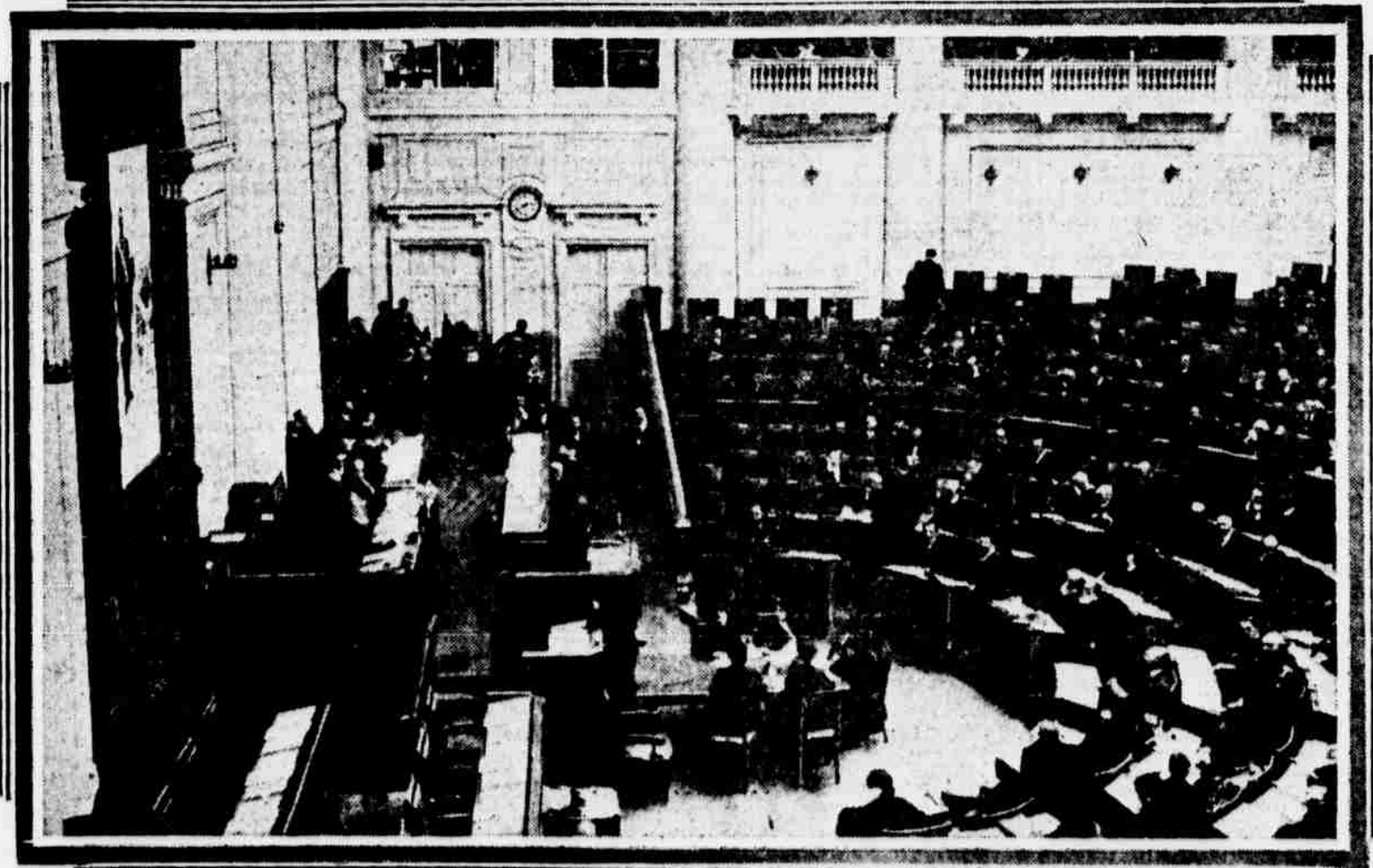
The fate of the Jews of Russia is bound up with the fate of the emancipation movement. The emancipation of the Jews from their intolerable yoke is but one phase of the emancipation of the Russian people from the regime of terrorism and absolutism. The policy of the Government that kept the Jews in a state of rightlessness made all efforts of reform in Russia practically impossible. The Government, accustomed the people to lawlessness. The existence at the same time and in the same places of people with rights and people without rights must necessarily lead to decay—this is an old truth which has been clearly illustrated in history.

Freedom for the Russian people must lead to the emancipation of the Jews. The Jewish question is intimately interwoven with all phases of the political, social and industrial life of the Russian people, and without the emancipation of the Jews the rejuvenation of Russia is impossible.

The men chosen as members of the new Russian Cabinet are the very flower of the Russian land, the pride of the Russian people, the true representatives of the nation that has been enslaved so many centuries.

Prof. Paul Milukoff, the famous historian, who distinguished himself during the past ten years as the leader of the Constitutional Democratic party, has displayed a remarkable aptitude for same and practical statesmanship. He is fearless and courageous and as diplomatist in the finest sense of the term he ranks among the best we have in any country to-day.

Shingarev, Manuilov, Gutchev, holding important posts in the new Cabinet, are popular, energetic, talented men, enjoying the confidence of the great mass of the Russian people. Russia had a Minister of Justice named Scheglovitov. He was notorious for two achievements. He was identified with the thousands of executions of innocent people throughout the Russian Empire shortly after the Constitution was granted to Russia in 1905. He was also the author of the Beilis affair. He assured the Czar that Beilis had committed a ritual murder. He wanted to discredit the Jewish people in Russia by that false accusation. The Czar believed his Minister of Justice and urged him to go on with the trial. The Minister of Justice



THE DUMA IN SESSION

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